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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BAGHDAD 004853

SIPDIS

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TAGS: [PGOV](#) [PNAT](#) [PTER](#) [PHUM](#) [IZ](#)

SUBJECT: ADNAN DULAIMI ON WAYS TO END THE INSURGENCY

Classified By: Political Counselor Robert Ford.

Reasons 1.4 (B) and (D).

**¶11.** (C/REL UK) SUMMARY. Adnan Dulaimi, in a meeting with UK Ambassador Patey and Poloff, proposed three measures to decrease insurgency violence against the Coalition. He called for an immediate halt to Coalition military operations in Anbar, a large-scale release of prisoners before the election, and steps to ensure a fair election on December 15. These steps would also ensure maximum Sunni Arab participation in the election. Dulaimi was told that he must do more to stop insurgent activity in areas where he has influence and ensure that released detainees do not resume insurgent activity. For its part, the Coalition would work to ensure a free election, and a thorough investigation of human rights abuses against Sunni Arabs. Dulaimi asked for a return of weapons confiscated in a MNF-I raid of his home and for an armored vehicle for his security. Ambassador Patey asked for a statement from Dulaimi calling for the release of the four Christian Peacemaker Team activists kidnapped on November 29. End Summary.

**¶12.** (C/REL UK) Sheykh Adnan Al-Dulaimi, head of the General Conference of the Iraqi People Party, running on the Sunni Arab Tawafoq Coalition, accompanied by party activists Hassan Al-Bazzaz and Hisan Al-Qaui, met with UK Ambassador William Patey and Poloff on December 3 to discuss ways to decrease violence in Iraq and encourage greater Sunni Arab participation in the December 15 elections. Dulaimi, a critic of Coalition presence in Iraq, has significant influence in Anbar and his tribal region around Ramadi. Dulaimi firmly laid down three "conditions" for reduced violence.

#### Immediately Halt Coalition Military Actions

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**¶13.** (C) Following weeks of positive moves, Dulaimi denounced the new Coalition military campaigns in Hit, Ramadi and other areas in Anbar, saying that they are lowering his confidence in the utility of dialogue with the Coalition. Dulaimi angrily demanded that the new military campaigns stop immediately. Continuing them will discourage Sunni Arabs from participating in the election. Ambassador Patey asked if Dulaimi can give assurances that there is no insurgent activity in these areas.

**¶14.** (C) Poloff noted that following our good faith efforts on prisoner releases, the exposure of the Jadriyah MOI bunker, strong pressure on the IG to investigate human rights abuses, and a series of positive dialogues in Ramadi, we were disappointed to see the upsurge in violence in Ramadi. He stressed the importance of Dulaimi and other Sunni Arab leaders accepting greater responsibility to end the violence. Dulaimi repeated that if the Coalition wants peace and partnership with the Sunnis, the Coalition attacks must stop.

**¶15.** (C) Dulaimi became agitated and produced a series of binders stuffed with dozens of photos (many of which we ad seen before) of mutilated bodies of killed and tortured Sunni Arabs, - victims, said Dulaimi of the Iraqi Police. Dulaimi was asked to provide details of extrajudicial killings, torture or locations of secret prisons so that the incidents are investigated. Dulaimi ticked off a list of seven such alleged secret prisons run by the MOI. Ambassador Patey said the locations would be investigated. The Coalition was instrumental in pressuring the IG, a sovereign government, to set up a capable committee to investigate the secret prisons and if the committee does not do its job, "we will take direct action." Patey said that the Coalition would like the next government to set up a strong independent Human Rights Committee with an international element, perhaps the UN. The UK can provide assistance in setting up such a body.

Release Detainees

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16. (C) The second condition for reduced violence, said Dulaimi, was a large scale release of innocent detainees held by Coalition forces. It was no good, said Dulaimi, to release 100 and arrest 200. "No one is fooled." (Note: In fact, the number of current detainees, at around 16,000 is at the highest level of this year. End note.) If the Coalition wants to build confidence with the Sunni Arab community, Dulaimi argued, it must release thousands of detainees before the election. Poloff countered that the detainees being released are not innocent, just not being prosecuted. The Sunni Arab community must do its part to ensure that once released, these people do not return to the insurgency.

Provide for a Fair Election

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17. (C) Dulaimi said the final condition for reduced violence would be Coalition action to ensure a fair election. Two IAC candidates have already been murdered and others are under threat. Coalition forces have interfered in political party meetings. The Coalition must also ensure that there are international observers to prevent ballot stuffing. Ambassador Patey told Dulaimi that the Canadian organization International Mission for Iraqi Elections (IMIE) was arranging for some international observers and coordinating observer activity. The EU would provide 12 experts for the election. A key to a successful election is the wide use of political party observers, though care must be taken to avoid frivolous complaints. Poloff asked that Dulaimi promptly notify us of any specific problem areas (e.g. security of polling sites, concern about transportation to polls, etc.) in the lead up to the election so that solutions can be found in time.

We Won't be Your Spies

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18. (C) Ambassador Patey asked Dulaimi to provide a list of local leaders in the areas of increased Coalition military activity that can be passed on to local commanders to find ways to ease the military presence. In response, Dulaimi snapped that the Coalition forces know who to contact in the conflict areas - "we won't give you names, we won't be your spies." Dulaimi said he needed protection, both from the insurgents and the Coalition forces. Stop conducting house raids, Dulaimi demanded, stating that his own home in Baghdad was recently raided twice by MNF-I. He asked that the 24 rifles and 3 pistols that were then confiscated be returned - they are needed to provide for his safety. He also asked for an armored vehicle and weapons permits for his security detail. (Note: These requests will be discussed in the next Sunni Outreach Core Group meeting. End Note.)

Appeal for Help in Hostage Situation

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19. (C) In closing, Ambassador Patey, noting that the Muslim Ulema Council had already done so, asked Dulaimi to consider issuing a call for the release of the four Christian Peacemaker Team Activists kidnapped in Baghdad on November 29.

COMMENT

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110. (C) The former head of the Sunni Arab Waqf, Adnan Dulaimi is one of the most important Sunni Arab leaders engaged in the election campaign. His message reflects the ambivalence of a politician who opposes the Coalition presence on principle but who recognizes the U.S. role in promoting election fairness and addressing MOI human rights abuses.  
KHALILZAD